

1. Brussels, Granvelle Palace, garden gallery (1551-1553/1554), attributed to Sebastian van Noyen. After Tilman-Francois Suys, before 1823 (Goetghebuer 1827, pl. XXXI). © University of Leuven, Collection Raymond M. Lemaire

# IMPORT, INVENTION, ASSIMILATION. THE CONTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN ARTISTS TO RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE IN THE SOUTHERN LOW COUNTRIES

Krista De Jonge\*

The term 'Renaissance' has always been associated with change and modernisation emanating from one particular area in Europe: Central Italy (Florence and Rome). Thinking about the Renaissance today thus forces the historian of architecture to face up to problems of influence and reception, tradition and innovation, centre and periphery, and spread and diffusion, as well as theories of cultural hegemony.<sup>1</sup> Linear relations between the architecture of Italy and that of the rest of Europe, as expressed in the term 'influence', have in recent literature been replaced by more complex notions such as assimilation and appropriation, cultural transmission and cultural transfer, and reception and cultural exchange.<sup>2</sup> But current scholarship on Italo-Belgian relations in early modern architectural history still mostly addresses the problem in terms of influence—a unidirectional, linear relation, a one-way street between Italy and Belgium—and of reception, which does not imply passivity but at least implies no reciprocity on equal terms. The focus of current scholarship is still on style. This is not surprising, since the paradigm underlying most of it is firmly Vasarian. Without necessarily subscribing to the notion that Renaissance inevitably means progress, we can still see antiquity-based architecture as invented in Italy in the fifteenth century as an innovation or fashion with which other architectural traditions, such as that of the former Low Countries, must come to terms in one way or another.<sup>3</sup>

The topic of Italian influence gained currency in the architectural history of Belgium from the earliest decades of the existence of the new nation-state, explicitly focusing on migrant Italian artists from the late 1870s onward.<sup>4</sup> Amédée-Guillaume-Bernard Schayes' four-volume *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, the first part of which had seen the light as a response to a competition organised by the Royal Academy, dedicated but few pages in its second edition (1853) to the architecture of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, placing Peter Paul Rubens and his house in Antwerp—roundly condemned by Schayes, a true neoclassicist—at the heart of the discourse.<sup>5</sup> Rubens was considered the epitome of an architect influenced by Italy. Between 1876 and 1879, the Antwerp

---

\*KU Leuven - University of Leuven

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Claire Farago (ed.), *Reframing the Renaissance. Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450-1650*, New Haven/London 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst others, Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries*, Oxford/Malden MA, 1998, especially 1-17; Matthias Middell, 'Von der Wechelseitigkeit der Kulturen in Austausch. Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten', in: Andrea Langer, Georg Michels (eds.), *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert. Prag – Krakau – Danzig – Wien*, Stuttgart 2001, 15-52; Kathleen Ashley, Véronique Plesch (eds.), *The Cultural Processes of "Appropriation"*, special issue, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002) 1; Arnd Schneider, 'On "appropriation". A critical reappraisal of the concept and its application in global art practices', *Social Anthropology* 11 (2003) 2, 215-29; Bruce Boucher, 'Jacob Burckhardt and the "Renaissance" north of the Alps', in: Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Elisabeth Pilliod (eds.), *Time and place. The geohistory of art*, Aldershot/Burlington VT 2005 (Histories of Vision), 21-35; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Cultural Transfer and Arts in the Americas', in: Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (ed.), *The Virgin, Saints and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection*, exh. cat. Stanford 2006, 18-25; Id., 'Acculturation, Transculturation, Cultural Difference and Diffusion. Assessing the Assimilation of the Renaissance', in: Krista De Jonge, Konrad Ottenheim (eds.), *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, Turnhout 2007 (Architectura Moderna 5), 339-49; Mark Millington, 'Transculturation: Contrapuntal Notes to Critical Orthodoxy', *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 26 (2007): 256-68.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Guillaume, 'Avant-propos: Renaissance ou Renaissances?', in: Id. (ed.), *L'invention de la Renaissance. La réception des formes "à l'antique" au début de la Renaissance*, Paris 2003 (De Architectura 9), 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> In general, see Ellen Van Impe, 'The Rise of Architectural History in Belgium 1830-1914', *Architectural History. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain* 51 (2008), 161-83 and Ellen Van Impe, *Architectural Historiography in Belgium 1830-1914*, Ph.D. dissertation University of Leuven, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Amédée-Guillaume-Bernard Schayes, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique*, s. l., s. d., 2nd ed. Brussels 1853. The first part appeared as *Mémoire sur l'architecture ogivale en Belgique*, s. l., s. a. (c. 1840), in response to the question: "Vers quel temps l'architecture ogivale, appelée improprement gothique, a-t-elle fait son apparition en Belgique? Quel caractère spécial cette architecture y a-t-elle pris aux différentes époques?" This of course implies that there is a particular Belgian variant of the Gothic. The extensive treatment of Rubens' house with five illustrations only appears in the second edition.

architect Auguste Schoy published a series of biographies of *Les grands architectes de la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*, again in response to a question posed by the Royal Academy in 1870: “Look for the period in which the art of the Low Countries has undergone Italian influence,” with the inevitable corollary of “how to appreciate Rubens as an architect”. These were brought together in a long essay published by the Academy.<sup>6</sup> In spite of the Academy’s reservations, Schoy set the tone for more than a century of Belgian scholarship on Renaissance architecture.<sup>7</sup> For example, the exaggerated focus in recent overviews on the rare Italianate buildings in the Low Countries, particularly the Granvelle Palace in Brussels, stems from Schoy’s oeuvre; as a seasoned collector, he had access to the rare records on this (lost) work, such as Tilman-François Suys’ survey published by Pierre-Jacques Goetghebuer in 1827 (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>

The subtext of the earliest publications was complex. Rubens was generally seen as a national Belgian hero, celebrated early on with statues such as that of 1840 on the Groenplaats in Antwerp, a work by Willem Geefs ordered by the *Société royale des sciences, des lettres et des arts* to celebrate the bicentenary of his death. When, after a short period of unity under William I (1815–1830), the Belgian and Dutch kingdoms had gone their separate ways, both indeed developed their own architectural histories with a particular nationalistic bent. The architectural past was used to reinforce national identity and to give meaning to the new borders. Of course, the incomplete correspondence between the new geographical boundaries and those of the counties and duchies constituting the Southern and Northern Low Countries under Burgundian and Habsburg rule generated enduring problems.<sup>9</sup> For instance, because of its situation in the northern part of the duchy of Brabant, even in recent scholarship, our first case study, the palace of Breda, was cut off from its context, i.e. the Brussels court and the architecture of the Habsburg nobility, which had its centre of gravity in the South.<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless, much of the writing on the North and the South ran in parallel where the relation with Italy was concerned. In spite of the prevailing Vasarian bias, and like Schoy, Georg Galland, for instance, recognised the originality of the architecture of the early modern Southern Low Countries, specifically Flanders and Brabant, *vis-à-vis* the Italian model and tried to valorise it within a European context.<sup>11</sup> A particular source of inspiration was offered by Hans Vredeman de Vries. In late nineteenth-century Belgium and The Netherlands both, Vredeman’s ‘accommodation’ of Italian architecture was recognised as an original response to Italian influence which was profoundly rooted in local custom, and thus a fit expression of the national character.<sup>12</sup> A superb expression of this ‘national’ Renaissance style was thus built in the Street of the Nations at the 1878 World Fair in Paris as the ‘Belgian house’.

Similar emphasis on the local character pervaded later writings, but authors adopted different stances on Italy. In the 1930s, the Leiden professor C. L. van Balen defined the introduction of the Italian Renaissance to the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century as a ‘Joyous Entry’, subliminally conveying the message that the Renaissance had made its triumphal entry into the Low Countries as the rightful ruler to whom obedience and fealty were due. In his view, the early decades of the century had inaugurated a long learning process through which the clumsy Northerners had to achieve Italian refinement, not unlike the first steps of a child who learns to walk.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, in the 1930s, militaristic overtones entered Belgian scholarly prose, in keeping with the

<sup>6</sup> Auguste Schoy, *Histoire de l’influence italienne sur l’architecture des Pays-Bas*, Brussels 1879 (Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers publiés par l’Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, XXXIX, 2). The original biographies discussed the sixteenth-century painter-architects Lambert Lombard and Hans Vredeman de Vries, but also Wensel Coborgher, Jacques Francart, and Philips Vingboons, active in the early seventeenth century.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Rutger Tijs, *Renaissance- en barokarchitectuur in België. Vitruvius’ erfenis en de ontwikkeling van de bouwkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden van renaissance tot barok*, Tiel 1999. Our 2007 overview consciously attempts to break with historiographic tradition, see De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Pierre-Jacques Goetghebuer, *Choix des Monuments, édifices et maisons les plus remarquables du royaume des Pays-Bas*, Ghent 1827, 21-3, plates XXX-XXXII. See Krista De Jonge, ‘Le palais Granvelle à Bruxelles: premier exemple de la Renaissance romaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas’, in: Krista De Jonge, Gustaaf Janssens (eds.), *Les Granvelle et les anciens Pays-Bas*, Leuven 2000 (Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis, series B, 17), 341-87.

<sup>9</sup> Konrad Ottenheym, ‘Introduction: unity and discontinuity in the historiography of the Low Countries’, in: De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, 1-14.

<sup>10</sup> A case in point: Gerard W.C. van Wezel, *Het paleis van Hendrik III graaf van Nassau te Breda*, Zeist/Zwolle 1999 (De Nederlandse Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst 100). Similarly, the monumental catalogue of the 1986 exhibition at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on Art in the Northern Netherlands before Iconoclasm tended to treat the Renaissance in the North independent from the South, and was justly criticized for that. W. Th. Kloek et al., *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm. Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580*, 2 vols., exh. cat. Amsterdam 1986 (De eeuw van de Beeldenstorm).

<sup>11</sup> Georg Galland, *Die Renaissance in Holland in ihrer geschichtlichen Hauptentwicklung dargestellt*, Berlin 1882.

<sup>12</sup> Luc Verpoest, ‘Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Belgische architectuur in de negentiende eeuw: architectuurgeschiedschrijving en nationale identiteit’, in: Heiner Borggrete et al. (eds.), *Tussen stadspaleizen en luchtkastelen. Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Renaissance*, exh. cat. Antwerp 2002, 375-81.

<sup>13</sup> “Inderdaad zijn de eerste uitingen der nieuwe kunstgedachte, die, hoewel geworteld in den bodem der klassieke kunst toch uit eigen nationaliteitsbesef leven en wasdom tracht te putten, niet ongelijk aan de eerste gangen van een kind, dat leert lopen. Het sukkelt op zijn wankelende beentjes, op zijn nog niet vast geplante voetjes van een stoel naar den muur, van den muur naar een kast, van de kast naar de

times: “The foundations of the position of power taken up by Flemish art, especially the art of painting, north of the Alps and even in Italy during the fifteenth century, are slowly being undermined from the end of that century. Italy, which until then had been put in a defensive position, slowly switches to the attack, overwhelms the Flemish influence in France and Germany, and through these gates soon threatens the Low Countries within their own bulwarks.”<sup>14</sup> Until recently, the position assigned to Italian migrating artists in overviews conformed to the view formulated by Raymond M. Lemaire in the much-used pocket-sized overview *Gids voor de kunst in België*: Italian painter-architects such as Tommaso Vincidor from Bologna and Italian military engineers such as Donato de’ Boni Pellizuoli from Bergamo, who arrived in the Low Countries in 1520 and around 1539, respectively, played key roles in the introduction of the mature High Renaissance to the Low Countries, bringing the early phase of apprenticeship to an end.<sup>15</sup>

### *Tommaso Vincidor, the architect of Breda*<sup>16</sup>

In 1520, the painter Tommaso di Andrea Vincidor of Bologna (born c. 1495<sup>17</sup> died shortly before 1556), who had worked with Raphael, arrived in Brussels at the same time as the famous and highly influential cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles*; he also oversaw the production of several important tapestry series (*Childrens’ Games*, *Adoration of the Shepherds*).<sup>17</sup> About 1530 he went by the title of ‘seigneur Boulloigne peintre de l’empereur’, which meant that he had become official artist to the court.<sup>18</sup> He gained widespread fame in the Low Countries through his work for Henry III of Nassau (1483-1538), the powerful Lord High Chamberlain to Emperor Charles V, for whom he designed the main part of the new residence at Breda.<sup>19</sup> Construction work began on 5 April 1536 but ended only, after a long interruption, in the late seventeenth century. Vincidor’s involvement continued from his patron’s death in 1538 until that of his patron’s successor, René de Chalon, in 1544, which closed off the first phase of construction work on the site (*fig. 2*).<sup>20</sup> Even today, after the many restorations meticulously charted by Gerard van Wezel, the building testifies to the merging of the three artistic contexts known to the patron: the Italian, the Spanish, and the Netherlandish, the first two of which were experienced through his travels in the wake of the emperor. The experienced Vincidor could be trusted to translate these into an innovative design, executed on site by an able crew of stonecutters and sculptors from Mechelen led by Andries Seron, whose family name might also indicate a foreign origin—Italian or even Spanish.<sup>21</sup> This trust might suggest that Henry’s Spanish peregrinations, and possibly his third wife, Mencía de Mendoza (1508-1544), the rich, well-connected heiress and learned protector of the arts whom he had married in 1526, also played a pivotal role in the conception of the whole.

Vincidor played a role in the designing of the palace, at the very least being intimately involved in the creation of its finishings. From 16 to 18 July 1537, the papal envoy Petrus Vorstius, bishop of Acqui but also parish priest of Breda, was received by Henry and Mencía; Henry’s son-in-law Jean de Renesse showed him the construction

---

tafel, en, als de afstand te groot is, laat het zich op zijn knietjes neerglijden en keert het tot het kruipen van vroeger terug. Maar in zijn oogjes is de naïef-blijde schittering, die alleen aan kindergen eigen is, in al zijn bewegingen is de liefvallige bekoring van het ontwakende jonge levensbewustzijn, en onder wankelen en tasten, kruipen en gaan, groeien gestaag zijn krachten....”. C.L. van Balen, *De Blijde Inkomst der Renaissance in de Nederlanden*, Leiden 1930, 37.

<sup>14</sup> “De grondslagen van de machtspositie, die de Vlaamsche kunst, voornamelijk de schilderkunst, benoorden de Alpen en tot in Italië toe in de vijftiende eeuw innam, worden van het einde dezer eeuw af stilaan ondermijnd en Italië, dat tot dan toe tot het defensief was teruggedrongen, gaat langzamerhand tot den aanval over, overrompelt den Vlaamschen invloed in Frankrijk en in Duitsland en bedreigt weldra langs deze invalspoorten de Nederlanden in eigen vesting”. Domien Roggen, Stan Leurs, *Geschiedenis der Vlaamsche kunst*, Antwerp 1939, chapter ‘Vroeg-Renaissance bouw- en beeldhouwkunst’, 511.

<sup>15</sup> Raymond Lemaire et al., *Gids voor de kunst in België*, Utrecht 1963, 53-60, specifically 56.

<sup>16</sup> This part of the text excerpts our earlier essays: Krista De Jonge, ‘Antiquity Assimilated: Court Architecture 1530-1560’, in: De Jonge & Ottenheim 2007, 55-78, especially 62-64, and Id., ‘Importazione, invenzione, assimilazione: Vincidor di Bologna architetto nelle Fiandre’, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secoli XV-XVI)*, Bologna 2010, 309-20.

<sup>17</sup> His career as a painter will not be treated here, nor will the pervasive influence of the cartoons on Netherlandish painting. See R. van Luttervelt, ‘Renaissancenkunst in Breda. Vijf studies. IV. Tommaso Vincidor en het kasteel van Breda’, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 14 (1963), 31-60; F.F.X. Cerutti, ‘Gegevens over Bredase kunst en kunstenaars in de zestiende eeuw, II’, *Jaarboek van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Stad en Land van Breda “De Oranjeboom”* 14 (1961), 17-45; Nicole Dacos, ‘Tommaso Vincidor. Un élève de Raphaël aux Pays-Bas’, in: *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l’Italie à la Renaissance. Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger*, Bruxelles/Rome 1980, 61-99; van Wezel 1999, 83-93, 151-61.

<sup>18</sup> According to a letter written to him by Henry III of Nassau, possibly related to the palace at Breda. van Wezel 1999, 80-1, 421.

<sup>19</sup> On the patron, see Hans Cools, *Mannen met macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse landen (1475-1530)*, Zutphen 2001, 200-01, 272-73. In 1527 Henry III of Nassau forbade, by letter from Valladolid, all repairs to the great hall other than the most essential, obviously because he was planning a new building campaign. Also, the Brussels residence started by his uncle Engelbert II, had just been finished (1526). van Wezel 1999, 95-6.

<sup>20</sup> van Wezel 1999, 151-56, 421.

<sup>21</sup> van Wezel 1999, 123-25. ‘Serron’ might refer to a village near the castle of La Calahorra (province of Almería), a possession of Mencía’s father Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, first marquess of Zenete; alternatively, he is called Italian in the surviving city accounts.







3. Breda, Grote Kerk, Nassau Chapel, tomb of Engelbert II of Nassau and Cimburga of Baden (1526-1534), unknown Netherlandish sculptor. (Photography: author)



4. Breda, Nassau Palace, staircase in the north-eastern corner (from 1536). (Photography: author)

site. At the time, as shown by a letter of 4 October from the latter to Henry, Vincidor was working on the designs of the ironwork and locks, while stucco workers were rendering the walls of the galleries around the court, and carpenters were putting the imposing timber ceiling of the main wing into place.<sup>22</sup> As attested by his collection of antique medallions and coins, visited by the famous antiquarian Hubertus Goltzius in 1556, not long after Vincidor's death, the painter was an erudite man, who must have been able to converse about artistic matters with his patrons on an equal footing.<sup>23</sup> Not many features of the palace, however, show a distinctly Italian stamp, let alone a Raphaelesque one, and most truly classicizing details can be tied to the use of Vitruvian editions well known to the Netherlandish élite, such as Fra Giocondo's (1511) and Cesare Cesariano's (1521).<sup>24</sup> A comparable case may be found in the use of Cesariano's woodcut of a Persian portico with kneeling prisoners in antique armour as a source of inspiration for the tomb Henry had made for his uncle Engelbert II of Nassau and his wife Cimburga of Baden by a hitherto unknown Netherlandish sculptor between 1526 and 1534 (*fig. 3*).<sup>25</sup>

The most Italian element, the straight staircase hidden in the north-eastern corner of the courtyard, has barrel vaults and is decorated with columns in the canonical order (Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian as they ascend) (*fig. 4*).<sup>26</sup> A later example of the type was still called Roman in a source dated c. 1600.<sup>27</sup> The orders used here and in the open loggias on the lower levels of the courtyard are more classicising than the ones in use in the court milieu at the time. For instance, the Ionic order has the proper Albertian base with double astragal, as used in Raphael's circle and published by Diego de Sagredo in his Vitruvian dialogue, *Medidas del romano* (Toledo 1526), while

## 2. (at p. 52) Breda, Nassau Palace, courtyard façade (from 1536), by Tommaso Vincidor. (Photography: author)

<sup>22</sup> van Wezel 1999, 154 and 421: "Boullogne est besoignant aux patrons de la serrure".

<sup>23</sup> On Goltzius' visit, see the extracts by Havermans from the Cuypers van Velthoven archive, conserved in the city archive of Breda. van Wezel 1999, 153.

<sup>24</sup> The close analysis carried out by Gerard van Wezel highlights many features at Breda that show a direct familiarity with Vitruvian theory: van Wezel 1999, 173-76, 213-25, 336-43, 359-70.

<sup>25</sup> Ethan Matt Kavalier, 'Being the Count of Nassau. Refiguring identity in Space, Time and Stone', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995), 13-51. The attribution to court sculptor Jean Mone (Gerard W.C. van Wezel (ed.), *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk en de grafkapel voor Oranje-Nassau te Breda*, Zeist/Zwolle 2003, 278-84) seems unlikely.

<sup>26</sup> van Wezel 1999, 96-9, 320-33.

<sup>27</sup> "A lo romano". Dated c. 1570, it was part of the *grand logis* of Peter Ernst of Mansfeld at Clausen (Luxemburg). Krista De Jonge, 'Le château et le jardin de "La Fontaine" à Clausen dans son contexte européen', in: Jean-Luc Mousset, Krista De Jonge (eds.), *Un prince de la Renaissance. Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld (1517-1604). II. Essais et catalogue*, Luxembourg 2007, 239-62, especially 245-46.



5. Breda, Nassau Palace, portal in the south gable of the great hall (from 1536). (Photography: author)



6. Breda, Nassau Palace, great hall on the ground floor (1536-1539). (Photography: author)



the Doric order with its rosettes obviously derives from the Basilica Aemilia, again popular in the Roman context. In contrast, the double brackets above the Ionic order in the (originally open) second tier of arcades in the courtyard evoke Spanish *zapatas*, but it must also be noted that they appear in Cesariano's Vitruvius, like the Doric variant, and thus carry a Vitruvian stamp of approval.<sup>28</sup> Again more Spanish in usage is the transverse placement of the Ionic capitals in the aforementioned staircase and on the end gables of the great hall, which emphasises the baluster instead of the face of the volute.<sup>29</sup> More antique ornament is scattered throughout the building, some of it astounding in its purity, such as the frieze with swags and bucrania above the portals in the end façades of the main wing (fig. 5).

In the late 1530s, an enormous quantity of elements in blue-grey limestone from Arquennes (Hainaut)—130 columns alone, along with architraves, archivolts, brackets, and volutes—was supplied by the well-known family firm of Guillaume Le Prince, a fact which securely ties the realisation of the palace to the main consortium of builders active in court circles at the time (fig. 6).<sup>30</sup> Not only the brick-and-stone masonry connects the building with local custom, that is, with the 'manner of Brabant' prevalent in court circles of the time,<sup>31</sup> but the building's entire concept is a successful assimilation of the latest décor in the antique manner with erudite concepts borrowed from Vitruvius and with the way of building proper to a high-ranking nobleman at the Brussels court. In the latter milieu, a trend toward making regular plans with a courtyard surrounded on all sides by an open portico became fully established with the (never executed) project ordered by Henry III of Nassau for his residence at Diest (1516–1522 or perhaps later).<sup>32</sup> At Breda a second courtyard would have surrounded the (lost) chapel, following the proportions used in Cesariano's reconstruction of the Roman house; the position of the chapel—in itself a traditional component—attached as it was to the middle of the intermediary wing separating both courtyards like a *tablinum*, reflects Fra Giocondo's reconstruction in his Vitruvius edition of 1511. Bramante's Palazzo dei Tribunali has been cited as a source of inspiration, but it must be said that the chapel was placed on the axis already in the Diest project.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the (lost) main staircase on the central axis of the courtyard, which consists of diverging and converging straight flights of stairs encased within an open loggia, refers to Netherlandish, Italian, and Spanish modes, from Diego de Siloe's 'golden stairs' in Burgos cathedral (1519), inspired by Bramante's staircase near the Belvedere nymphaeum, to the new staircase of the Brussels ducal palace (1538–1539).<sup>34</sup>

*Donato de' Boni Pellizuoli, the architect of the Antwerp enceinte*<sup>35</sup>

Although styled 'painter to the Emperor', Vincidor apparently was not designated by the title of 'artist', which distinguished experts in antique architecture and sculpture in court service, such as the sculptor Jean Mone (1487–1490 – 1548/1549), the painter and architectural theorist Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550), and the sculptor-architect Jacques Du Broeucq (c. 1505–1584), from their peers in the cities.<sup>36</sup> Nor was Donato de' Boni Pellizuoli, alias Donato Bono from Bergamo (d. 1555 or later), designated an artist, but as a military engineer in imperial service he stood at the peak of the professional pyramid anyway and did not really need

<sup>28</sup> A similar case can be noted for another part of Charles V's empire, Franche-Comté. Christiane Roussel, 'Un hispanisme en Franche-Comté au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La *zapata* revisitée', in: Monique Chatenet, Claude Mignot (eds.), *Le Génie du lieu. La réception du langage classique en Europe (1540-1650): sélection, interprétation, invention*, Paris 2013 (De Architectura), 153–62.

<sup>29</sup> Such 'hispanisms' are discussed by Yves Pauwels, 'La fortune du Sagredo français en France et en Flandres aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles', in: Fernando Marias, Felipe Pereda (eds.), *Diego de Sagredo, Medidas del romano*, Toledo 2000, I, 107–16, and Id., 'L'architecture de la 'Belle chapelle' de Solesmes: une origine espagnole?', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 141 (1999), September, 85–92.

<sup>30</sup> On stonecutters' marks, see van Wezel 1999, 187–89. They were also active on construction sites such as the castle of Boussu, *premier et grand écuyer* Jean de Hennin's chief residence in Hainaut from 1540. See Krista De Jonge, Marcel Capouillez (eds.), *Le château de Boussu*, Namur 1998 (Etudes et Documents, Monuments et Sites, 8).

<sup>31</sup> 'Maniere van Brabant'. See Krista De Jonge, '“Up die maniere van Brabant”. Brabant en de adelsarchitectuur van de Lage Landen (1450–1530)', in: *De Brabantse stad. Dertiende colloquium, Leuven 18–19 oktober 2002 (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 86 [2003] 3–4), 409–23.

<sup>32</sup> Bernhard Roosens, 'Het lastencohier voor de bouw van een nieuw kasteel te Diest voor graaf Hendrik III van Nassau, ca. 1530', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 66 (1983), 155–68.

<sup>33</sup> van Wezel 1999, 77–80.

<sup>34</sup> Krista De Jonge, 'Le langage architectural de Jacques Du Broeucq', in: De Jonge & Capouillez 1998, 166–67. van Wezel 1999, 231–33. On the 'escalera dorada', see Catherine Wilkinson, 'La Calahorra and the Spanish Renaissance Staircase', in: André Chastel, Jean Guillaume (eds.), *L'escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris 1985, 165. Agustín Bustamante, 'La influencia italiana en la escalera española del Renacimiento', in: André Chastel, Jean Guillaume (eds.), *L'escalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris 1985, 172.

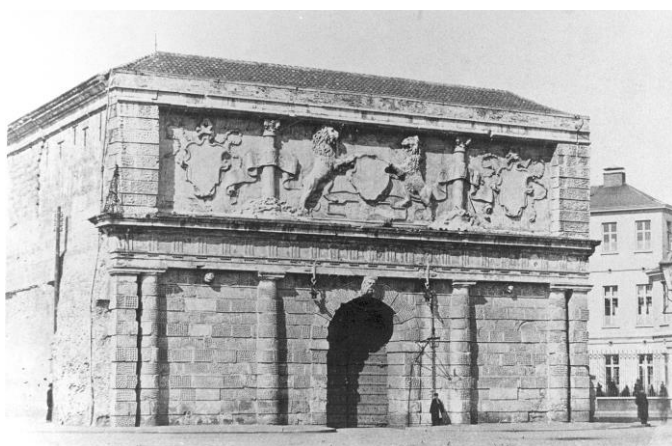
<sup>35</sup> The following précis partially excerpts Krista De Jonge, 'Architekturpraxis in den Niederlanden in der frühen Neuzeit: Die Rolle des italienischen Militärarchitekten; der *status questionis*', in: Günter Bers, Conrad Doose (eds.), *Der italienische Architekt Alessandro Pasqualini (1493–1559) und die Renaissance am Niederrhein: Kenntnisstand und Forschungsperspektiven*, Jülich 1994, 363–83, and Id., 'A Model Architect: Jacques Du Broeucq (1540–1555)', in: De Jonge & Ottenheim 2007, 79–86.

<sup>36</sup> Krista De Jonge, 'The Court Architect as Artist in the Southern Low Countries 1520–1560', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 59 (2009–2010), *Envisioning the Artist in the Early Modern Netherlands*, Zwolle 2010, 110–35.



another title.<sup>37</sup> In keeping with the emperor's taste, the only truly imperial architecture in the Low Countries at the time was indeed military architecture, the great hall of Mary of Hungary's palace at Binche excepted.<sup>38</sup> Donato Bono was not the first Italian engineer versed in the new art of the bastionated enceinte to work in the Low Countries, but he was certainly among those with the most extensive civil practice as a consultant.<sup>39</sup> Among others, he might have been involved in the design of the new town hall at Utrecht (1540-1546).<sup>40</sup> In 1550, his critique of the parapet design for the new court chapel in Brussels, originally decorated with a Flamboyant openwork motif, led to its being abandoned in favour of a more antique-looking balustrade.<sup>41</sup> As a designer of architecture, he might have introduced some novel forms into the Low Countries. The (demolished) city gates of Antwerp, e.g. the Imperial, or St George's Gate (1545), and the (still extant) gate of Fort Rammekens in Zeeland (1547), show him to be well versed in the art of rustication, while his Doric order has no base (fig. 7). The latter detail, as well as the flattened bosses of the Imperial Gate, point to his North Italian origins, as these details are shared by Michele Sanmicheli.<sup>42</sup> There may thus be a kernel of truth in Vasari's story that the emperor had tried to engage the famous Venetian engineer in his service.<sup>43</sup>

Donato's first great work was the design of the fortress at Ghent, built under the direction of Adrien de Croÿ, Count of Rœulx, from 1540 onward (fig. 8).<sup>44</sup> Explicitly meant as a symbol of the emperor's irrefutable power over his rebellious birthplace, the enormous square structure with bastions on the corners proved so costly that



7. Antwerp, St George's Gate or Imperial Gate (1545), by Donato Bono. Photograph by Edmond Fierlants, c. 1860. © Antwerp, FelixArchief, inv. no. K 12629 [C2-523b], IV, 2, 39



8. Ghent, citadel (from 1540), remnants of a bastion with gun port, by Donato Bono. (Photography: author, 2000)

<sup>37</sup> ARAB *Rekenkamer* 26647, fol. 47verso: "messire Donaes Diboni, ingeniaire de Sa Majesté", cited after Alexandre Pinchart's *Notes* by Robert Hedicke, *Jacques Dubrœucq de Mons*, Brussels 1912 (*Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons* 40 [1911]), 428-29.

<sup>38</sup> On Binche, see Krista De Jonge, 'Marie de Hongrie, maître d'ouvrage (1531-1555), et la Renaissance dans les anciens Pays-Bas', in: Bertrand Federinov, Gilles Docquier (eds.), *Marie de Hongrie, Politique et culture sous la Renaissance aux Pays-Bas*, Morlanwelz 2008 (Monographies du Musée royal de Mariemont 17), 131-36. On Charles V's predilection for the technical sciences, see William Eisler, 'The "Wunderkammer" of Charles V: The Emperor, Science, Technology and the Expanding World', *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* 19 (1993), 11-52. In general, see Krista De Jonge, 'Las empresas arquitectónicas del emperador y de su corte en los Países Bajos. El contexto europeo', in: Fernando Checa (ed.), *Carolus*, exh. cat. Toledo 2000, 34-53 and Carlos José Hernando Sánchez (ed.), *Las fortificaciones de Carlos V*, Madrid 2000, Introduction.

<sup>39</sup> Overview of Italian engineers active in the Low Countries during Mary of Hungary's regency in Charles van den Heuvel, 'Papiere Bolwercken'. *De introductie van de Italiaanse stede- en vestingbouw in de Nederlanden (1540-1609) en het gebruik van tekeningen*, Alphen aan den Rijn 1991, 23-48; Bernhard Roosens, 'Die Modernisierung älterer Festungen im niederländischen Grenzgebiet zu Frankreich und die italienischen Ingenieure (1534-1560)', in: Günter Bers, Conrad Doose (eds.), *Italienische Renaissancebaukunst an Schelde, Maas und Niederrhein. Stadtanlagen – Zivilbauten – Wehranlagen*, Jülich 1999, 155-65; Charles van den Heuvel, Bernhard Roosens, 'Los Países Bajos. Las fortificaciones y la coronación de la defensa del imperio de Carlos V', in: Hernando Sánchez 2000, 578-605. In general, Pieter Martens, *Militaire architectuur en vestingoorlog in de Nederlanden tijdens het regentschap van Maria van Hongarije (1531-1555). De ontwikkeling van de gebastioneerde vestingbouw*, Ph.D. dissertation University of Leuven, 2009.

<sup>40</sup> Konrad Ottenheim, 'Renaissancearchitektur und Architekturpraxis im städtischen Bereich: Utrecht 1500-1550', in: Norbert Nußbaum et al. (eds.), *Wege zur Renaissance, Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen neuzeitlicher Kunstauffassung im Rheinland und den Nachbargebieten um 1500*, Cologne 2003, 218-22.

<sup>41</sup> The hapless sculptors had to pay for the change out of their own pockets. Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, *Kaarten en plannen in handschrift 1727-1728*. Paul Saintenoy, *Les arts et les artistes à la Cour de Bruxelles. II. Le Palais des Ducs de Bourgogne sur le Coudenberg à Bruxelles du règne d'Antoine de Bourgogne à celui de Charles-Quint*, Brussels 1934 (Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts, collection in-4°, V, 1), 258-61; Bob van den Boogert, Jacqueline Kerkhoff (eds.), *Maria van Hongarije. Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars 1505-1558*, exh. cat. Utrecht/'s-Hertogenbosch 1993, 303, cat. no. 207a-b.

<sup>42</sup> André Chastel et al., *L'architettura militare veneta del Cinquecento*, Milan 1988.

<sup>43</sup> van den Heuvel 1991, 150.

<sup>44</sup> Victor Fris, *La citadelle de Charles-quin et le château des Espagnols à Gand*, Antwerp 1922; Piet Lombaerde, 'Herrschaftsarchitektur. Über den Abbruch von Zitadellen und den Bau neuer Paläste in den Niederlanden', in: Bers & Doose 1999, 320-23; van den Heuvel & Roosens 2000, 593-99.



9. Toledo, Alcázar, by Alonso de Covarrubias and others. (Photography: author)

an important part of it could not be built, that is, the *palazzo in fortezza* or imperial residence, which would have stood at its heart on the site of the ancient abbey of St Bavo. Nothing remains of the drawings that were made between 1540 and 1542 by Jean De Heere (or Mynheere) of Ghent and the mapmaker Virgilio of Bologna (Virgile de Boulogne?), nor of those made by Jacques Du Brœucq from 1549, but it seems likely that the residence would also have had a square shape, possibly with tall corner towers.<sup>45</sup> The emperor played a decisive role in its conception and design, as shown by a recently discovered source: he wanted his architects to pay particular attention to the projects by Alonso de Covarrubias for the fortified palaces in Madrid and Toledo (fig. 9), ordering detailed drawings made to scale of the new apartments to that effect.<sup>46</sup> This *palazzo in fortezza* would have counted as one of the very first examples of the type, which appeared in that period almost at the same time in Italy (the Farnesian territory) and in the Low Countries.<sup>47</sup>

In this field also, patron and architect each had a voice in the debate, though maybe not an equal one, as the following—perhaps apocryphal—example illustrates; it is related to Donato Bono's second great work, the new fortifications of Antwerp, built from 1542 onward by entrepreneur Gilbert van Schoonbeke and town master mason Peter Frans under Donato's supervision.<sup>48</sup> Peter Frans allegedly told Daniel Specklin of Strasbourg that in 1540 his own design for the new Antwerp fortifications had been rejected by the emperor upon the advice of the Duke of Alva, the Duke of Mantua, and the Count of Buren in favour of the one by *messer Donati*. He had then

<sup>45</sup> Hedicke 1912, 296-97, 430-32.

<sup>46</sup> Letter of Charles V to his secretary Francisco de los Cobos, Bruges, 4 July 1540, quoted in Pieter Martens, 'La défense des Pays-Bas et l'architecture militaire pendant la régence de Marie de Hongrie (1531-1555)', in: Federinov & Docquier 2008, 98.

<sup>47</sup> Around 1545, the city of Amsterdam planned to build a square citadel with bastionated corners and imperial residence on the Lastage, in honour of Charles V. Ruud Meischke, 'Een plan voor een citadel te Amsterdam uit ca. 1545', *Castellogica* 1 (1995), 139-47. Possibly designed by Alessandro Pasqualini from Bologna, it precedes the better-known new town and *palazzo in fortezza* at Jülich, built by the same architect for William V the Wealthy, Duke of Jülich-Kleve-Berg, who had recently allied himself to the Emperor. Hartwig Neumann, *Zitadelle Jülich. Grosser Kunst- und Bauführer*, Jülich 1986; Jürgen Eberhardt, *Die Zitadelle von Jülich – Wehranlagen, Residenzschloß und Schloßkapelle – Forschungen zur Planungs- und Baugeschichte*, Jülich 1993; Bers & Doose 1994.

<sup>48</sup> Henri Wauwermans, 'La fortification d'Anvers au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique*, 4<sup>th</sup> ser. 8 (1896), 1-195; Hugo Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16<sup>e</sup> eeuw. De stedenbouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert van Schoonbeke*, Brussels 1977 (Gemeentekrediet van België, Historische uitgaven Pro Civitate, reeks in-8°, 47); Piet Lombaerde, 'De vroege versterkingswerken van Antwerpen en de Spaanse omwalling: Vanaf ca. 1507 tot het einde van Spaanse Successieoorlog in 1713', in: Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *Antwerpen versterkt. De Spaanse omwalling vanaf haar bouw in 1542 tot haar afbraak in 1870*, Brussels 2009, 14-60.

been forced by the emperor and his warlords to build the old-fashioned, very long curtain walls that so surprised Specklin (*fig. 10*).<sup>49</sup> The long *courtines* and relatively small, polygonal bastions are, in fact, characteristic of Donato Bono's fortifications; his contemporary work at Cambrai (1544) and Luxembourg (1544) holds to the principles he learned decades earlier in Italy, contrary to the fashion for short curtain walls and huge, leaf- or heart-shaped bastions which was introduced into the Low Countries only in the early 1550s.<sup>50</sup> Specklin's story reflects the fact that, because of its nature, military architecture was designed by means of a convoluted, committee-held dialogue, in which the emperor (or his representative) had the last word, even though the cities had to finance them. This was, in fact, the usual state of affairs.

## Conclusion

Both Vincidor and Bono were widely known to their Netherlandish contemporaries, first and foremost to the Antwerp artistic vanguard, as designers. In this milieu, the image of the architect as a learned intellectual, i.e. as a master of the art of *disegno* understood as an activity of the mind rather than a manual skill, had developed already in the early 1520s following authorities such as Vitruvius and Alberti.<sup>51</sup> At first it was more a matter of image building based on theory than of actual practice, but in the end neither patrons nor practitioners could escape being influenced by the new social positioning implied in these texts, as shown by the Utrecht court case of 1543.<sup>52</sup> The defendant, the Utrecht master builder Willem van Noort, who in 1546 executed the new Utrecht Town Hall with its antique-inspired façade, appealed to six Antwerp experts—the stonemasons and sculptors Rombout van den Looke, Rombout de Drijvere, and Philip Lammekens, the master carpenter Peter Theels (or Thiels), and the masons Peter Frans and Peter de Bruijne—to state his case, which conformed with the new image of architectural design. Their testimony, borne out by the paraphrases from Vitruvius and Alberti added by the humanist Cornelis Grapheus, cited “master Thomas from Bologna, Italian”, who had “designed the palace at Breda”, and “master Donato, Italian”, who had “designed the fortress at Ghent” and the “fortifications of this city” of Antwerp, as examples of the new type of designer.<sup>53</sup> A generation later, the Florentine exile Lodovico Guicciardini, well informed by the citizens of his new hometown Antwerp, ensured that his name was consolidated in print: “The engineer, architect, and supervisor of these walls [of the Antwerp enceinte] was master Donato Boni Pellizuoli of Bergamo.”<sup>54</sup>

It also took a generation, apparently, for the artistic vanguard to adopt a clear position toward the architecture of the newcomers, as examples of the correct antique manner. The first to do so, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, tried to connect antiquity to Donato's undeniably modern structures, most notably in his introduction to the Flemish translation of Serlio's Book III *On Antiquity* (1546).<sup>55</sup> In a rather convoluted argument, Coecke related the grandeur that was Rome to the greatest contemporary enterprise in the field of architecture known to him. Both Coecke and Donato, it must be recalled here, served Mary of Hungary as arbiters of the proper

<sup>49</sup> Story related by Specklin in his treatise *Architectura von vestungen*, Strasbourg 1589, chapter X. Specklin met the aged Peter Frans (“Frantzen”) twice, in 1560 and in 1577. Wauwermans 1896, 15-16, 26-28; Alexander Kabza, ‘Eine Studienreise des deutschen Festungsbaumeisters Daniel Specklin in die Niederlande’, *Oud Holland* 29 (1911), 169; Albert Fischer, *Daniel Specklin aus Straßburg (1536-1589). Festungsbaumeister, Ingenieur und Kartograph*, Sigmaringen 1996, 138.

<sup>50</sup> Charles van den Heuvel, ‘De verspreiding van de Italiaanse vestingbouwkunde in de Nederlanden in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw’, in: *Vesting. Vier eeuwen vestingbouw in Nederland*, The Hague 1982, 9-18; Pieter Martens, ‘Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld et les ingénieurs et architectes militaires’, *Hémecht. Revue d'Histoire Luxembourgeoise/Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte* 56 (2004), 481-83; Id., ‘Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld et les ingénieurs militaires: la défense du territoire’, in: Jean-Luc Mousset, Krista De Jonge (eds.), *Un prince de la Renaissance. Pierre-Ernest de Mansfeld (1517-1604). II. Essais et catalogue*, Luxembourg 2007, 100-102.

<sup>51</sup> De Jonge 2009-2010, 116-25. On actual practice in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century in relation to this development, see Merlijn Hurx, *Architect en aannemer. De opkomst van de bouwmarkt in de Nederlanden 1350-1530*, Nijmegen 2012, 32-65.

<sup>52</sup> S. Muller Fz., ‘Getuigenverhoor te Antwerpen over het maken van ontwerpen van gebouwen in de 16e eeuw door schilders, goudsmeden, timmerlieden en metselaars’, in: F.D.O. Obreen (ed.), *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis* IV, Rotterdam 1881-1882, 227-45; Ruud Meischke, ‘Het architectonische ontwerp in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen en de zestiende eeuw’, *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* (1952), 161-230, republished in: Id., *De gotische bouwtraditie*, Amersfoort 1988, 127-207, especially 198-200; Ottenheim 2003, 223-25.

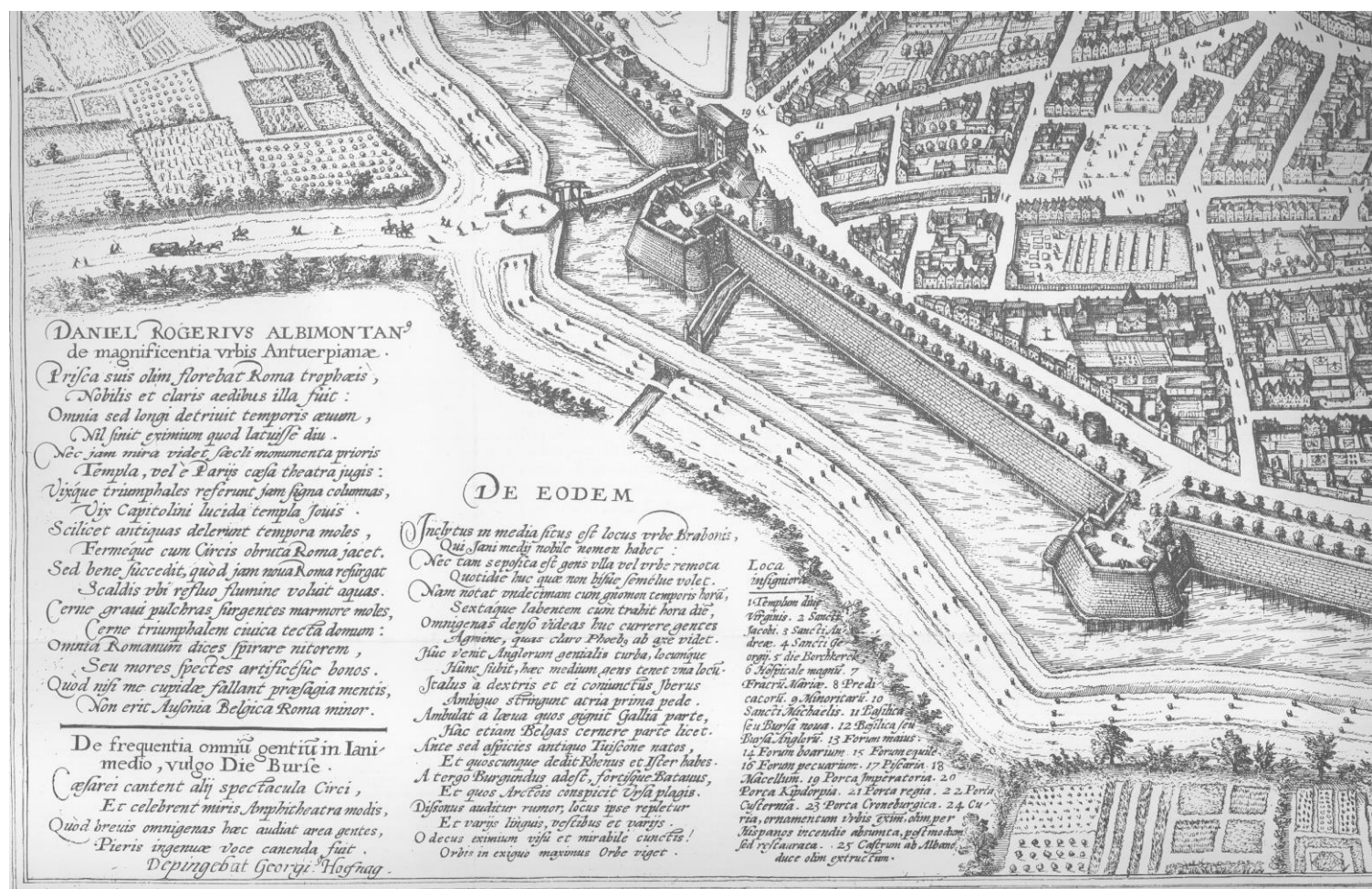
<sup>53</sup> “...dat Meester THOMAS BOLONGNE Italiaen, egheen steenhoudere oft cleynstekere maer een schilder wesende, heeft geordineert het huys tot Breda... Ende desgelijcx Meester DONAES Italiaen, oyck noch steenhoudere noch cleynstekere wesende, heeft geordineert ende de patroonen gemaect van tcasteel tot Gendt, gelijk hij oyck deser stadt mueren, vesten, wallen, bollewercken ende anders tot der selver stadt fortificatien dienende, geordineert heeft ende noch daghelicx orderende is”. See previous note.

<sup>54</sup> “Fu ingegnere, architetto, & condottore di questa muraglia maestro Donato Boni Pellizuoli Bergamasco”. Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore*, Antwerp 1567, 2nd ed. Antwerp 1581, 96. On the other hand, Vincidor's name is no longer present in the long digression on famous artists active in the Low Countries (142-47). On Guicciardini, see Pierre Jodoigne (ed.), *Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589)*, Louvain 1991 (Travaux de l'Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme 10).

<sup>55</sup> Pieter Coecke van Aelst (ed.), *Die aldervermaertste Antieke edificien va[n] temple[n]/ theatre[n]/ amphiteatre[n]/ paleisen/ therme[n]/ obelisce[n]/ brugge[n]/ arche[n] triu[m]phal. etc. bescreve[n] en[de] gefigureert met baren gronde[n] en[de] mate[n] oock de plaetsen daerse staen en[de] wiese dede make[n]*, Antwerp 1546.



antique style.<sup>56</sup> The enormous size and cost of the bastioned enceinte indeed became a matter of civic pride to Antwerp citizens, as confirmed by Guicciardini in his 1567 *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*. In parallel, however, more acute observers began to note the difference between local production in the antique manner and Italian models from the pages of treatises such as Serlio's. In 1577, Vredeman de Vries propounded in his treatise *ARCHITECTURA Oder Bauung der Antiquen auss dem Vitruvius, woellches sein funff Columnen orden* that the "Italian antique manner" (as practised by Sebastiano Serlio) was not suitable to local conditions and should be adapted to the occasion, as "ingenious and experienced" Netherlandish masters such as Jacques Du Broeucq and Jan Mijnsheere had demonstrated.<sup>57</sup> Neither Vincidor nor Donato Bono deserved mention in this context any more.



10. Antwerp, bastionated enceinte, south-eastern curtain wall, by Donato Bono. Engraving by Frans Hogenberg, from Georg Braun, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. V, Cologne 1597, 27, detail. © University of Leuven, after facsimile (Skelton 1980)

<sup>56</sup> Coecke, for instance, assessed the quality of Jean Guilgot's statuary on top of the classicizing new entrance staircase of the Brussels ducal palace in 1539-1540. Eddy D'Hondt, *Extraits des comptes du domaine de Bruxelles des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles concernant les artistes de la cour*, Brussels 1989 (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Miscellanea Archivistica, Studia 4), 66-67, 71.

<sup>57</sup> See his commentary on the Doric Order: "Hoe wel dat den vermaerden Vitruvius, Sebastiaen Serlio, ende den experten Iacobus Androuetus Cerseau, ende meer andere diversche sorten der facien, edeficien, fronten oft gevels, naer de antiquiteyte Italiaense maniere en gebruyc haerder architecturen en bouwinghen ghestelt hebben, alsoomen in haerlieden en meer anderen meesters, baecken en patroonen bevindt, naer dien s' landts aert, wesen en ghebruyc, sonder cruys-vensters, en sonderlinghen groot licht soeckende, noch hooge verdiepinghen, dan breeet en weynich verdiepens: maer in dese Nederlanden heeftmen een ander conditie, namelijk in steden van grooter negotien, daer de plaetsen cleyn en dier sijn, moetmen al in de hoochde tot veel gheriefts, met veel lichts te krijgen, inventeren en soecken, elck na sijn gheleghentheyten en plaetse, tsy groot oft cleijn, de meeste commodite ende dienst der edificien oft logamenten der architecturen soecken ende ghebruycken op sijn ghelegen plaetse, sulcx wel ghebruyct en gheobserveert hebben dese naergenoemde en meer andere cloecke ende ingenieuze meesters ende vervaren architecteurs deser Nederlanden ter eeren, als meester A. Floris, de vader van Cornelis Floris, meester Jacques van Berghen, meester Jan Gilgho, meester Anthonis Mockaert, M. Jan de Heere, superalij Cornelis Floris, tot Luyck M. Thomas voor Guilliame Paludani, ende noch meer andere die ick niet en kenne, dan haer wercken wel betoonen, hun ingenie int bewijs der architecturen, te weten t' accomoderen naer gheleghentheyten deses landes ghebruycinghe en dienst, meer dan opt de Antiquen van noode is gheweest, sulcx men in elck deel oft partije bevinden mach, en ondersoecken t' mijne om een beter". Konrad Ottenheim, Krista De Jonge, 'Of Columns and Wooden Piles. The Foundations of Architectural Theory in the Low Countries 1560-1625', in: De Jonge & Ottenheim 2007, 93-96.